Dangers and Duties of the Hour,

BY

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LECTURE

Delivered at Concert Hall, Last Evening, Before the "Social, Civil, and Statistical Association of Pennsylvania."

THE PERILS OF THE NATION.

Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc.

Hon. William D. Kelley, M. C. for the Fourth District of Pennsylvania, delivered the following address last evening, at Concert Hall, to a very large, brilliant, and enthusiastic audience. The speaker was listened to with marked attention, and was frequently interrupted by applause. He spoke substantially as follows:—

HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

Oaths are not an adequate foundation for government. All history attests this fact. A republic which is not sustained by the intelligent apprehension of its vital principles, and their hearty acceptance by its people, is in constant danger of overthrow. When the sun went below the horizon on the 1st of December, 1851, France was, under the constitution of 1848, a republic. It was Monday, the evening on which the President, whose inaugural oath bound him to maintain the republic, held his reception at the Elysee. There was nothing unusual in the number or character of the guests. They were, probably, each in a general way known to the others; but could each have looked into the hearts of all, and beheld their secret workings, the story of the night would not have read as it does. The brilliant assemblage embraced some of the most loyal friends of the republic. Count de Morny was not seen by the guests who first departed. He had manifested his devotion to the drama, and the *habitues* of the theatres had seen him among them early in the evening; but the company separated early, and at 11 o'clock there were but three guests left with Louis Napoleon. They were De Morny, Maupas, and St. Arnaud, and, attended by Colonel Beville, an orderly or subordinate officer of the President, they followed him to his cabinet. It was almost midnight, and the republic still lived. Let us contemplate its dying hours. It will not detain us long, for when the first beams of the ascending sun lit the spires of Paris, the Empire was in embryo, and the republic, with the preceding day, was a thing of the past.

Colonel Beville was soon despatched to the State printing office with a sealed packet. It contained the copy of proclamations with which the streets of Paris were to be placarded before daylight and the outgoing mails burdened. One of them asserted that the Assembly (the Congress of France) was a hot-bed of plots and conspiracies; announced its dissolution, and placed Paris and the twelve surrounding departments under martial law. About 12 o'clock word was brought the conspirators that a battalion of gendarmie surrounded the printing office, and that under the supervision of the director the overawed printers were putting the proclamations in type. The President executed letters removing his Cabinet and appointing Morny to the Secretaryship of the Interior. He had some days before recalled from Algeria St. Arnaud, the John B. Floyd of France, and made him Minister or Secretary of War, the officer whose order, within the range of military duty, was law to the generals of the republic. At two o'clock St. Arnaud signed an order that bodies of troops which he had put under command of his corrupt partisans should occupy the garden of the Tuileries, the Quai d'Orsay, the Place de la Concorde, and be so posted in the vicinity of the Elysee as to protect its inmates if necessary. Maupas, prefect of the police, in another apartment held separate interviews with a number of commissaries, and, under the pretext that he apprehended an arrival of foreign refugees made arrangements for the simultaneous seizure and incarceration of seventy-eight of the most distinguished generals, most trustworthy officers and members of the Assembly (Congress), and most courageous and most eloquent popular orators of France. With the execution of this order the revolution was accomplished. When day broke the army was without generals who loved the republic more faithfully than Lee and Johnson love ours, and the Assembly (Congress) was without the officers to bring it to order or a fearless representative of the people to demand that the Constitution be maintained and treason made odious by the punishment of conspiring traitors.

NO SUDDEN OVERTHROW OF THE GOVERNMENT APPREHENDED.

The American people need apprehend no sudden overthrow of their Government like this. The power of France was in Paris; it flowed thence to the boundaries of the republic. It is not so with us; in our country it resides equally in every organized political community throughout our limits. Washington, not the centre of political power, is the mere focus at which the people's will concentrates and expresses itself. We, therefore, need not apprehend a *coup d'etat* or sudden overthrow of the Government. Garrett Davis, who aptly illustrates the loyalty which commends men to the confidence of Andrew Johnson, may, from the floor of the Senate, sound the temper of the people on the subject, and in accordance with his recorded oath, press such a suggestion upon the President; the amnestied Rebels and jubilant Copperheads may borrow his own seditious language and denounce Congress as an irresponsible "Central Directory," and their organs say, as did the Chicago *Times*, that

"If the rump Congress shall not speedily abandon its seditious, revolutionary, and lawless practices; if it shall persist in excluding the representatives of eleven States from their rightful seats, and in exercising the powers of the Congress of the United States, we do not hesitate to declare that it will become the solemn duty of President Johnson to constitute himself the Cromwell of the time, and dissolve the rump by military power."

WHAT WE HAVE TO FEAR.

But they who defended Mrs. Surratt and her co-conspirators, who justified the conduct of Wirz, who mourn the martyred Booth, and proclaim their belief that the providence, dark and inscrutable as it was, which transferred the executive power of the country from the hands of Abraham Lincoln was a beneficent one, and who are now the familiars of his successor, doubtless advise him to adopt this course; and his many new counsellors, chosen from the perjured but acute leaders of the late Rebellion, will trouble him with no suggestions of dissent from a scheme so entirely coincident in purpose with the lawless and inhuman war they waged against us. But this is not among our dangers. The President, though he is sometimes indiscreet, is more adroit than these advisers. The foundations of our institutions are too broad, too well apprehended, and too highly appreciated to permit us to consider this as a practical danger. The sources of our anxieties are more subtle. What we have to fear is not the change in the form of our Government, but infidelity to its principles by those who administer it. Let me not be misunderstood. I have no apprehension of serious consequences. My faith in the people knows no doubt. They understand their rights and will maintain the independence of the popular branch of Congress and avert this danger. The intelligence of the American people is not the subject of idle declamation. Whatever may have been the impression in Europe on this point prior to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of the 15th of April, 1861, calling for seventy-five thousand troops, all men now know that the American people understand their institutions in general and in detail; that they cherish the spirit, and are ready to peril property and life in their defense. But we must not forget that that which violence and open assault cannot accomplish is sometimes achieved by fraud and deception; and herein is the source of all our dangers. A subtle, though narrow intellect, an elastic conscience, intense egotism, and the control of almost boundless patronage, make a combination that cannot be despised in any controversy.

LOVE OF OFFICE NOT PECULIAR TO AMERICANS.

The love of honor or emolument is not peculiar to the American people; nor does it, as satirists, cynics, and the victims of oft-recurring disappointment declare, spring from vanity or overweening love of self. The multiform and bountifully endowed charities in which our country pre-eminently abounds: the story of the Sanitary, the Christian, the Union, and the Freedman's Commissions, through the hands of which so many tens of millions of voluntary contributions have flowed; the majestic march of our civilization across the continent, and the rapidity with which our country is interlaced with costly works of improvement, attest the fact that the American people, who dig and delve most assiduously, apply least of their gains to the gratification of purely selfish purposes, and recognize most fully the truth that man holds the treasures which God confides to him as trustee for his feebler fellow-men. True it is that base men seek place, but none will deny that every revered name would be stricken from the scroll of sages, statesmen, and philanthropists, if doubt and suspicion attached to all who have been willing to encounter the dangers and toils of public position in times of trial, and in the dark hours of the struggle for a great cause have been cheered by the hope that good men might love them and posterity honor their names.

POWER OF PATRONAGE.

Nevertheless, the patronage of our Government is a power the people should estimate in calculating the magnitude of a contest between them and the Executive of the country. The President is the fountain of political honor. To him belongs the nomination of the thousands of officers upon our civil list, and of the army and the navy. His ministers control contracts involving enough millions of dollars to make them prizes eagerly sought by men whose counsels are not without weight in social and business circles, as well as in the political combinations of the day. The agents of the Executive traverse every mail route, are found in the thousand post-towns of the country, swarm in our ports of entry, and may be said to be omnipresent as the imperial police of France, but wear no uniform or badge by which the public may be admonished that they may have a secret reason for the political faith they express, or are suborned against the public good.

A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT WANTED.

I pause to remark in this connection that this now is and ever will be a source of danger, and to add that, though President Johnson, who, when a member of the Senate, proposed in one brief session nine amendments to the Constitution, now regards that instrument as perfect in all its proportions, and deprecates the suggestion of an amendment as calculated to impair its sacredness in public esteem, it will one day be the duty of the people so to modify it as to provide that subordinate offices shall be held for a definite period, and thus remove from the absolute control of the Executive the constantly increasing number of employes of the Government. When the soldiers who were wounded in following and maintaining the flag of our country, and who now, in lieu of the lucrative business they abandoned for that purpose, are holding clerkships and other positions under the Government, have to give place to those who fought the great contest against the supremacy of that flag, as the logic of the President's new position will necessitate, this point will attract the attention of the public, and, until then, I pass it.

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE PEOPLE.

The contest now prevailing is not between the parties indicated by the President on the 22d of February, when within the borders, if not at the heart of the enemy's country, he pointed out as those upon whom turbulent faction might justifiably inflict its horrors, the honored Senator from Massachusetts, and the brave old man whose indomitable courage and energy gave Pennsylvania, in spite of an opposing majority of the people, her public school system, and who, through a life stretching beyond the allotted three-score years and ten, has never swerved from principle or failed to befriend the poor, the ignorant, the oppressed, and the otherwise friendless, who is venerated by all true men, and whose name will be honored by the teeming millions of the people of our State. The people understand that controversy is not between Congress and the Executive, but is between the Executive and themselves; the question being the maintenance of the rights of that co-ordinate branch of the Government through which the voice of the people is heard in the government of the nation. The attempt of the President is to coerce the popular will. Of the result I have no doubt. They who have involved themselves in three thousand millions of debt, and maintained fierce war until there was one dead in every house, will not fail now to maintain that for which they made these sacrifices. It is only necessary that the issue should be fairly stated and fully elucidated to overwhelm him, who, in order that his power may be absolute during the brief term which, under the Constitution, he is to hold the reins, would subvert the principles of the Constitution. To that end I propose briefly to examine the career of the present accidental President of the United States.

THE CAREER OF ANDREW JOHNSON EXAMINED.

He was for a time Military Governor of Tennessee, and owes his elevation to the Vice-Presidency to the fact that he did not retire from the Senate with those with whom he had previously co-operated, and to his conduct and public utterances while in that office. Though his earlier career had been creditable to him as a citizen, and had secured him the confidence of the people of his State, there had been nothing in it to attract in a special degree the affectionate attention of the country. He had never borne arms in the country's service; and though vehement in declamation and much given to speaking, he was not distinguished as an orator. Apart from his support of the Homestead Bill his speeches and his votes were all in the interest of what he was pleased to regard as his section, the slaveholding States of the country, and the party for which, alas! his affinities are now more powerful than his patriotism. Even those who now surround him, and to whom he gives his confidence, prominent among whom is our well-known townsman, Hon. Thos. B. Florence, can hardly have persuaded him that he owed his election to the Vice-Presidency to these facts; yet he is exercising all the functions of his office as though duty and gratitude required him to look to the antecedents alone for a key to the wishes, purposes, and convictions of the people who opened the possibility of his present position to him; and has not hesitated to announce more flagrantly than John Tyler ever did the purpose of using the patronage of the Government for the promotion of his insane ambition, by saying to a citizen of Pennsylvania, and in the presence of one of her Representatives, that he "holds the offices at his disposal for his friends and the friends of his friends." Let us then refer to his conduct and remarks while military governor of Tennessee, in order to ascertain what were the pledges upon which the people nominated and elected him, and how far his manner of redeeming them justifies popular confidence in his honor and veracity.

HE FAVORS WHOLESALE CONFISCATION.

During 1863 he twice visited Washington and conferred with many members of both Houses of Congress, on among other topics, the necessity of repealing the clause in the Confiscation act which provides that it should not "be so construed as to work a forfeiture of the real estate of the offender beyond his natural life." I have a vivid recollection of the earnestness of his manner in the conference with which he honored me. Much of his language was more forcible than elegant. I could not with propriety give a verbatim report of his remarks; but this I may say, that he pressed upon me most earnestly the assurance that if we permitted the war to close without having provided for the confiscation and division, by grant, to discharged soldiers, or sale, of the large landed estates of the aristocracy in Tennessee, we would fail in our duty to the republic, and sacrifice the white Union men of that State, as well as the freedmen. "Sir," said he, "you cannot confiscate under that law, and if you permit these people to return and assume the commanding social position which the possession of their estates will give them, you will not punish a prominent traitor in Tennessee, and will make it necessary for the Union men to abandon their property and the State; for if you attempt to try one of them by a jury of the vicinage he will be acquitted by sympathizing friends, and the prosecuting officer and witnesses will be hung from the branches of the nearest tree to the court-house door." I do not mention this incident for the first time. The statement is doubtless familiar to many of you, for when, after his nomination, I was interrogated by earnest men who had learned to doubt every Southern slaveholder, and feared that the nomination of Andrew Johnson was a mistake, I answered by reporting the interview, and in my many addresses before the people during the campaign frequently referred to it.

THE RECORD OF HIS PUBLIC ACTS.

It were better, however, to appeal to the record of his public acts, and, in doing so, I shall confine my allusions to facts mentioned in a sketch, which, as I was the fellow-boarder of its accomplished author while engaged upon it, I could not avoid knowing, had the benefit of Mr. Johnson's personal supervision.

The nomination of Andrew Johnson as Military Governor of Tennessee was confirmed by the Senate on the 5th of March, 1862, and he entered upon the duties of his office one week thereafter. One of his first official acts was to publish "an appeal to the people," the following extract from which is a startling commentary on the doctrine announced in his veto of the freedmen's bureau bill, which, while admitting that it is "the unquestionable right of Congress to judge, each House for itself, of the election returns and qualifications of its own members," denies the right of the representatives of the people and the States, in concurrence with the President, to pass upon the character of the constitution under which such representatives have been chosen, and by which States the Governments of which have been overthrown propose to resume their practical relations to the Union. "In such a lamentable crisis," said he, "the Government of the United States could not be unmindful of its high constitutional obligations to guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, an obligation which every State has a direct and immediate interest in having observed towards every other State."

HE ARRESTS AND IMPRISONS TRAITORS.

Before the month of March had passed he ordered the Mayor and Council of Nashville to take the oath of allegiance, and vacated their offices and sent them all to the penitentiary because they refused to obey the order. "The press throughout the State," says Mr. Frank Moore, "was placed under proper supervision, and it was soon understood that spoken or written treason would subject the offenders to justice. In April the editor of the Nashville *Banner* was arrested and his paper suppressed." So heartily did Governor Johnson then seem to abhor treason that he arrested and imprisoned Judge Guild for that offense. On the 9th of May he issued a proclamation in which he recited that "persons unfriendly to the Government of the United States" were "going at large through many of the counties of the State, arresting, maltreating, and plundering Union citizens," and announced "that in every instance in which a Union man is arrested and maltreated by the marauding bands aforesaid, five or more Rebels, from the most prominent in the immediate neighborhood, shall be arrested, imprisoned, and otherwise dealt with as the nature of the case may require; and further, in all cases where the property of citizens loyal to the Government of the United States is taken or destroyed, full and ample remuneration shall be made to them out of the property of such Rebels in the vicinity as have sympathized with and given aid, comfort, information, or encouragement to the parties committing such depredations."

HIS HATRED OF TREASON.

The people of Nashville elected a Secessionist to the office of Judge of the Circuit Court, and he gave him his commission; "but," says his biographer, "fearing that he might abuse the power thus vested in him, ordered his arrest, and sent him to the penitentiary on the same day." Time will not permit me to notice a tithe of the acts by which he effaced the suspicion that his apparent devotion to justice and the Union resulted from a personal controversy between him and the more aristocratic leaders of the South, and satisfied the loyal people of the country that he hated treason because it was a crime, and would use any power with which they might invest him to punish the leaders of the Rebellion, and prevent them from ever acquiring weight or influence in the councils of the nation. Indeed, one cannot, when reading his remarks accepting the nomination for Vice-President, or those he made to the colored people of Tennessee, doubt that such was for a time his own belief; for, as Kinglake said of another:—

"It is believed that men do him wrong who speak of him as void of all idea of truth. He understood truth, and in conversation he habitually preferred it to falsehood; but his truthfulness (though not, perhaps, contrived for such an end) sometimes became a means of deception; because, after generating confidence, it would suddenly break down under the pressure of a strong motive. He could maintain friendly relations with a man, and speak frankly and truthfully to him for seven years, and then suddenly deceive him. Of course, men finding themselves ensnared by what appeared to be honesty in his character, were naturally inclined to believe that every semblance of a good quality was a mask; but it is more consistent with the principles of human nature to believe that a truthfulness continuing for seven years was a genuine remnant of virtue than that it was a mere preparation for falsehood."

WHAT HE SAID ON ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION.

Let me, in this connection, briefly remind you how explicit he was when accepting the nomination, by some extracts from his address:—

"The question is, whether man is capable of self government. I hold, with Jefferson, that government was made for the convenience of man, and not man for government. The laws and constitutions were designed as instruments to promote his welfare. And hence, from this principle, I conclude that governments can and ought to be changed and amended to conform to the wants, to the requirements and to the progress of the people and the enlightened spirit of the age. * * * *

"And let me say that now is the time to secure these fundamental principles, while the land is rent with anarchy and upheaving with the throes of a mighty revolution. While society is in this disordered state, and we are seeking security, let us fix the foundations of the Government on principles of eternal justice which will endure for all time."

Again:—

"But in calling a convention to restore the State, who shall restore and re-establish it? Shall the man who gave his influence and his means to destroy the Government? Is he to participate in the great work of reorganization? Shall he who brought this misery upon the State be permitted to control its destinies? If this be so, then all this precious blood of our brave soldiers and officers, so freely poured out, will have been wantonly spilled. All the glorious victories won by our noble armies will go for nought, and all the battle-fields which have been sown with dead heroes during the Rebellion will have been made memorable in vain.

"Why all this carnage and devastation? It was that treason might be put down and traitors punished. Therefore I say that traitors should take a back seat in the work of restoration. If there be but five thousand men in Tennessee loyal to the Constitution, loyal to freedom, loyal to justice, these true and faithful men should control the work of reorganization and reformation absolutely. I say that the traitor has ceased to be a citizen, and in joining the Rebellion has become a public enemy. He forfeited his right to vote with loyal men when he renounced his citizenship and sought to destroy our Government. We say to the most honest and industrious foreigner who comes from England or Germany to dwell among us, and to add to the wealth of the country, 'Before you can be a citizen you must stay here for five years.' If we are so cautious about foreigners, who voluntarily renounce their homes to live with us, what should we say to the traitor who, although born and reared among us, has raised a parricidal hand against the Government which always protected him? My judgment is that he should be subjected to a severe ordeal before he is restored to citizenship. A fellow who takes the oath merely to save his property, and denies the validity of the oath, is a perjured man, and not to be trusted. Before these repenting Rebels can be trusted, let them bring forth the fruits of repentance. He who helped to make all these widows and orphans—who draped the streets of Nashville in mourning—should suffer for his great crime. The work is in our own hands."

And again:—

"Ah! these Rebel leaders have a strong personal reason for holding out, to save their necks from the halter; and these leaders must feel the power of the Government! Treason must be made odious and traitors must be punished and impoverished. Their great plantations must be seized and divided into small farms and sold to honest, industrious men. The day for protecting the lands and negroes of these authors of rebellion is past. It is high time it was. I have been most deeply pained at some things which have come under my observation. We get men in command who, under the influence of flattery, fawning, and caressing, grant protection to the rich traitor, while the poor Union man stands out in the cold, often unable to get a receipt or a voucher for his losses. The traitor can get lucrative contracts, while the loyal man is pushed aside, unable to obtain a recognition."

ANDREW JOHNSON ON NEGRO EQUALITY.

But time flowed on, and as the election approached he became more emphatic. It was to be held the 9th of November, and on the evening of the 24th of October, the colored people of Nashville and the vicinity paraded in great numbers, bearing torches, transparencies, and banners, and Governor Johnson found it convenient to meet and address them. War was still flagrant, and the Southern aristocracy were not to be represented in the electoral college, the members of which were to vote for him or Mr. Pendleton as Vice-President. But the people of the North, who believed that justice, equal and exact justice to all, was the only sign by which the Rebellion could be conquered, would vote. He had been a Democrat and a slaveholder, and was then penetrated with the belief he has since expressed, that the radicals in the Convention had opposed his nomination on that account. It is possible that this knowledge may have induced him, eagerly ambitious and familiar with political quantities as he was, to make the address, or have given tone to his remarks. But be that as it may, it is certain that his words were not cold and contemptuous as those which, as President, he uttered to the few returning braves who represented a regiment that had been thrice recruited because it had been thrice decimated in battle. But let him speak for himself. "Negro equality, indeed," cried he; "why pass any day along the sidewalk of High street, where these aristocrats more particularly dwell—these aristocrats whose sons are now in the bands of guerillas and cut-throats who prowl and rob and murder around our city—pass by these dwellings, I say, and you will see as many mulatto as negro children—the former bearing an unmistakable resemblance to their aristocratic owners. Colored men of Tennessee, this, too, shall cease. Your wives and daughters shall no longer be dragged into a concubinage, compared to which polygamy is a virtue, to satisfy the brutal lusts of slaveholders and overseers. Thenceforth the sanctity of God's holy law of marriage shall be respected in your persons, and the great State of Tennessee shall no more give her sanction to your degradation and your shame." And having, in language which you all remember, promised to be their Moses, he added:—

"I speak now as one who feels the world his country and all who love equal rights his friends. I speak, too, as a citizen of Tennessee. I am here on my own soil; and here I mean to stay and fight this battle of truth and justice to a triumphant end. Rebellion and slavery shall, by God's good help, no longer pollute our State. Loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control her destinies; and when this strife in which we are engaged is past, I trust, I know, we shall have a better state of things, and shall all rejoice that honest labor reaps the fruit of its own industry, and that every man has a fair chance in the race of life."

HIS FAITHLESSNESS EXPOSED BY GOVERNOR BROWNLOW.

How faithless this man, who now claims the confidence of his abused fellow-citizens, has been to all these pledges, let that unfaltering patriot, William G. Brownlow, Governor of Tennessee, tell. I have a letter from him, written just one week ago. It is a fearful commentary on the untrustworthiness of this man's most sacred pledges. That you may hear exactly what he says, I will read it all, from date to signature:—

"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, NASHVILLE, March 8, 1866.—Hon. William D. Kelley, House of Representatives—Dear Sir:—Enclosed I send you a copy of my proclamation, from which you will learn that a faction of twenty-one disorganizers have, in the true spirit of the late iniquitous Rebellion, withdrawn, and reduced our House of Representatives below a quorum. I need not add further remarks, as the proclamation fully discusses the points at issue.

On Friday last the election of county officers took place throughout the State, such as clerks, sheriffs, justices, trustees, and tax collectors, and in Middle and West Tennessee the Rebels have made a clean sweep, turning the Union men out and electing their own candidates, who electioneered for office on the ground that they were Rebels, and had either served in the Rebel army, or in some other capacity had given their influence to the cause of TREASON and *traitors*.

When Richmond fell and Lee surrendered, Rebels, and many who sympathized with them, were very respectful to Union men, often obsequious; guilty culprits, they evidently feared arrest and punishment, and felt that to be left alone and allowed to live, was all they had a right to expect. But, since pardons have been so multiplied and no man has been punished, they have everywhere become impudent and defiant, until, in most counties in Middle and West Tennessee, it is disreputable to have been a Union man, or, as a Southern man, to have served in the Union army. And matters are growing worse; the reconstructed traitors openly cursing loyal men, and threatening that they have the President on their side, while we all feel that the President's policy is ruinous to us.

When I put the President in nomination at Baltimore for the Vice-Presidency, I felt that he had so thoroughly committed himself to the Union cause, and had been so badly treated by the Rebels, it was impossible for him ever to get round to them again; but I give him up as lost to the Union party, and as the man who is to head the Rebels and Democrats. Every Rebel in all this country, every McClellan man, and every ex-guerilla chief, are loud and enthusiastic in praise of the President. The men who but a few months since were cursing him for an Abolitionist and traitor, and wishing him executed, are now for executing all who dare to oppose his policy, or even doubt its success.

There is twice the amount of bitterness and intolerance in the South, to-day, towards the Union and everything Northern, than there was at the time of Lee's surrender. Abuse of the Union men, of the Radicals in Congress and self-assumed superiority on the part of the Southern chivalry, have risen to such a height that loyal men cannot travel on a steamboat, or in a railroad car, without being insulted. As it was during the war so it is now; all concessions from the North, or from the majority in Congress, are regarded as evidences of fear; all the old Rebel papers of 1861, and many new ones, are in full blast, threatening Congress and the North with ultimate vengeance, and boasting of Southern prowess.

The most popular men in the largest portion of Tennessee, to-day, are the men most distinguished for their hostility to the North, and what they are pleased to call the 'Radical Congress,' and they are the class of men who are selected to fill offices, as the late county elections show. The same is true of the entire South, *only more so!* In a word, they are resolved on breaking up the Government and they expect to carry out their schemes *through the ballot-box*, and how men of candor and intelligence can represent them as loyal and kindly, disposed is a mystery to me, even in this age of rebellion and treachery. I do not understand them, and my opportunities for learning their temper and, ultimate purposes are as good as those of most men.

Why, sir, many of them are expecting the President to disperse Congress with the bayonet, as Cromwell dispersed the Long Parliament. The Southern heart is rapidly being fired to deeds of war, and all this, and more, as I believe, has been occasioned by the mistakes of the President.

His plan of trusting Rebels with their State Governments has had an effect exactly the opposite of what he intended. It has ruined the prospects of the Union men, and they feel that there is no safety for them unless Congress shall choose to protect them. Even three days ago General Thomas had to send troops into Marshall county, some sixty miles distant, to protect loyal men and freedmen, who were fleeing for safety and coming to this city.

So far as I am individually concerned, the intemperate abuse of Rebels, the denunciation and blackguardism of their reconstructed journals, the threats of personal violence from their amnestied patriots, and the anonymous letters of cowards threatening my assassination, all fall harmless at my feet. No earthly power can drive me from the support of the men and the party who fought the battles of the late war and put down the Rebellion.

With kind recollections of the past, and the *hope* of a pleasant future,

W. G. BROWNLOW,
Governor of Tennessee.

THE "CENTRAL DIRECTORY."

In view of the statements of Governor Brownlow, and its corroborations borne to us by every mail from the South, may I not inquire whether Andrew Johnson is in his true place, "if traitors should take a back seat in the work of restoration?" In view of his perfidious abandonment of the Union men of the South, do not his denunciations of Congress remind you of Louis Napoleon's cry that the Congress of France had become a hot-bed of plots and conspiracies? And has he, under the tuition of his new friends, been studying the history of revolutionary France, that he denounces the joint Committee on Reconstruction, composed as it is of fifteen of the purest statesmen of the country, as an irresponsible central directory? That phrase recalls to mind the incidents of the 18th Brumaire. He should have known his countrymen better than to have referred to such an example!

On the 18th Brumaire the executive power of France was in a Central Directory. The condition of the country, as we find it in Thiers, reminds us of that of the unhappy South. He says, after referring to the victories of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, "The greatest perils were not without, but within. The disorganized Government, unruly parties which would not submit to authority, and which, nevertheless, were not strong enough to possess themselves of it—a kind of social dissolution everywhere, and robbery a sign of that dissolution, infesting the high roads, especially in provinces formerly torn by civil war—such was the state of the republic."

ANOTHER HISTORICAL PARALLEL.

When, on the 18th of October, Napoleon, fresh from the expedition to Syria, found his way secretly to his home in the Rue Chantereine, his first visit was to the President of the Directory, Gohier, with whom he arranged that he should be presented to the Directory next day. After his presentation, he addressed the supreme magistrate. Appealing to their gratitude by referring to his past services, less directly, but more elegantly, than is the habit of our President, he said "that, after consolidating the establishment of his armies in Egypt by the victories of Mount Tabor and Aboukir, and committing the charge of it to a general qualified to insure its prosperity, he had left it to fly to the succor of the Republic, which he believed to be undone. He had found it saved by the exploits of brethren in arms, and in this he rejoiced." "Never," he added, clapping his hand to his sword, "never would he draw it but in defense of that Republic.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

The leaders of all the parties of France visited him in turn. "Two principal parties," says Thiers, "and a third, a subdivision of the two others, offered themselves to him, and were disposed to serve him if he adopted their views. These were known as the patriots, the moderates, and lastly, the *pourris*, as they were called, the rotten of all times, and of all factions. The *pourris* were the French equivalent of the Tyler party, and are now represented by those office-holders who, having been fierce Republicans, proclaim themselves "the friends of Andrew Johnson and a white man's government." When referring to them Thiers says:—"The *pourris*, the rotten, were all the rogues, all the intriguers, who were striving to make their fortune, who had dishonored themselves in making it, and who were still bent on making it at the same price. These followed Barras and Fouche, the minister of police. Among them were men of all sorts—Jacobins, moderates, and even royalists." The never-to-be-forgotten meeting in front of the Executive Mansion, on the 22d of February, confirms, most strikingly, the fact that history not only repeats itself, but does it with accuracy of detail. It is said that "Bonaparte felt a horror of the turbulent, and a disgust of the corrupt." He, therefore, shrunk from personal contact with the *pourris*, and repulsed them until their leaders became absolutely necessary to his purposes.

"Meanwhile," says Allison, "in his secret intercourse with the different leaders, Napoleon was indefatigable in his endeavors to disarm all opposition. Master of the most profound dissimulation, he declared himself to the chiefs of the different parties penetrated with the ideas which he was aware would be most acceptable to their minds. To one he protested that he certainly did desire to play the part of Washington, but only in conjunction with Sieyes—the proudest day of his life would be that when he retired from power; to another, that the part of Cromwell appeared to him ignoble, because it was that of an impostor; to the friends of Sieyes he professed himself impressed with the most profound respect for that mighty intellect, before which the genius of Mirabeau had prostrated itself; that, for his own part, he could only head the armies, and leave to others the formation of the constitution. To all the Jacobins who approached him he spoke of the extinction of liberty, the tyranny of the Directory, and used terms which sufficiently recalled the famous proclamation which had given the first impulse to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor." He publicly ordered a review of the troops for the morning of the 18th Brumaire, after which he would, he said, set off to take command of the army on the frontier.

OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Thus he perfected his plan for the overthrow of the Republic. At daybreak of the 9th of November, known as the 18th Brumaire, the boulevards were filled with a splendid body of cavalry, and all the generals in Paris repaired in full dress to the Rue Chantereine. To lull the suspicions of the President of the Directory, Bonaparte had announced to him familiarly that he would dine with him on that day. The leaders of the Deputies of the Ancients, in pursuance of a conspiracy, had determined to announce at the opening of the session that the republic was in danger, but to allay the fears of the uncorrupted members by assuring them that it would be saved by the protecting arm of General Bonaparte. On the arrival of the unusual hour at which the meeting had been called the President of the commission charged with watching over the legislative body opened the proceedings. "The Republic," said he, "is menaced at once by the anarchists and the enemy; we must instantly take measures for the public safety. We may reckon on the support of General Bonaparte. It is under the shadow of his protecting arm that the Councils must deliberate on the measures required by the interests of the Republic." The Speaker declared debate or remonstrance to be out of order, and the decree was adopted. The soldiers, who believed, as did the people, that they had been ordered out for review, surrounded the Hall of the Ancients, and Bonaparte, attended by Moreau, Macdonald, Berthier, Murat, Lannes, Marmont, and Lefebvre entered, and proceeded to the bar of the Hall of the Ancients.

ANDREW JOHNSON'S DISSIMULATION.

After a moment's pause, Bonaparte said:—"Citizen Representatives, the Republic was about to perish, when you saved it; woe to those who shall attempt to oppose your decree; aided by my brave companions in arms, I will speedily crush them to the earth. You are the collected wisdom of the nation; it is for you to point out the measures which may save it. I come, surrounded by all the generals, to offer you the support of their arms. I name Lefebvre my lieutenant. I will faithfully discharge the duty you have entrusted to me. Let none seek in the past examples to regulate the present. Nothing in history has any resemblance to the close of the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth century resembles this moment. We are resolved to have a republic; we are resolved to have it founded on true liberty and a representative system. I *swear* it in my own name and in that of my companions in arms." From the moment in which he uttered that hollow oath till that of his downfall the story of Bonaparte was the history of the French Government. The perjury-freighted breath of him who swore to protect the Republic had killed it. The power which enabled Bonaparte to destroy the Republic he thus swore to protect was dissimulation; the essential agency was the success with which he impressed the chiefs of the different parties with the belief that he was controlled by the ideas in which they had faith.

From history or his own experience, Andrew Johnson has learned that dissimulation alone will enable him to execute his purposes. To have appealed to the persuasive power of patronage immediately upon assuming office would have awakened suspicion, and he is too experienced and crafty a politician for that. He knew that the allies of the Rebels were in a hopeless minority in the North, and that to restore the old order of things—a united South and a divided North—he must secure a measure of popular confidence before he disclosed his purpose even to the *pourris*. It was by professing fidelity to the republics of 1793 and 1848 that the Bonapartes were able to overthrow them. And his purpose is to put this country into the hands of the impenitent Rebels of the South by professing to adhere to the Union party till he shall have divided its counsels and wrought its overthrow. In April last, while the loyal heart of the North throbbed with indignation, he did not denounce the radicals, or insist upon it that 'we must repose confidence in somebody, and ought to trust the people of the South." To a delegation of loyal Southerners he then said:—

"But if asked what should be done with the assassin, what should be the penalty—the forfeit exacted—I know what response dwells in every bosom. It is that he should pay the forfeit with his life. And hence we see there are times when mercy and clemency, without justice, become a crime. * * * * And so I return to where I started from, and again repeat that it is time our people were taught to know that treason is a crime, not a mere political difference, nor a mere contest between two parties, in which one succeeded and the other has simply failed. They must know it is treason; for if they had succeeded, the life of the nation would have been reft from it, the Union would have been destroyed. Surely, the Constitution sufficiently defines treason. It consists in levying war against the United States, and in giving their enemies aid and comfort. With this definition, it requires the exercise of no great acumen to ascertain who are traitors. It requires no great perception to tell who have levied war against the United States; nor does it require any great stretch of reasoning to ascertain who has given aid to the enemies of the United States; and when the Government of the United States does ascertain who are the conscious and intelligent traitors, the penalty and the forfeit should be paid."

MERCY WITHOUT JUSTICE.

If mercy without justice be a crime, who shall absolve Andrew Johnson from the consequences of his great transgression? Has he the acumen to discover who have been traitors? And is not that mercy without justice which, in violation of the express provisions of law, has restored to bloody-handed traitors immense landed estates, the titles to which were absolutely vested in the United States, and, therefore, beyond his lawful control? Tested by his own standards, you may be disposed to ask wherein his guilt differs from that of the "stern statesman" whose exultation at the triumph of his beloved South is for yet a little while restrained by the strong walls of Fortress Monroe? But let us not hasten to conclusions. The subdued tones of his voice and the broad generalities in which he cloaks his designs, still deceive some patriotic people. They have not sounded the shoals and depths of a nature like his. Let me, rapidly as I can, for your patience must weary, illustrate his methods for overthrowing the party that maintained the war and conquered his rebellious section.

JOHNSON'S IDEA OF "LOYALTY."

Bold as partial success has made him, he still, in his public addresses, speaks of loyalty, and in his celebrated interview with the representatives of the Legislature of reconstructed Virginia, which occurred the day after he exhibited himself in such painful contrast with the representatives of the "inferior race," whom he had honored with an interview, he insisted that none but loyal men must be admitted to the councils of the nation. It is, however, fortunate for the country that he is less reticent than Bonaparte, or not so excellent a reader of the hearts of men, or that our more popular government constrains a more frequent expression of opinion, for he has enabled us to understand the significance with which he uses the word loyal, and the popular phrases by which he hopes to delude and divide the people of the North.

Having at that time faith in his integrity, and being anxious to lend him any aid I could in the execution of the high duties confided to him, I once filled the *role* once filled by Major George L. Sterns, and more recently by Governor Cox of Ohio. It had been my privilege to pass an hour in close and friendly intercourse with him in the ante-room to the Executive Chamber in the early part of April last, on the occasion of the last call I was permitted to make on Abraham Lincoln.

HE PROFESSES TO AGREE WITH SUMNER.

During that interview he referred very kindly to my speech in favor of universal suffrage and requested another copy, saying he had mislaid the one he had read with so much pleasure, and wished it that he might refer to some of the authorities cited. When I next saw him he was President of the United States, but had not taken up his abode in the Executive mansion. Having arrived in Washington in the evening, I delayed my call upon him till the next morning, and having heard that Senator Sumner had had a protracted interview with him that day, with General Gantt, of Arkansas, I went to his room, where I found General Carl Schurz, fresh from North Carolina, and the surrender of Johnston's army. He had, as you remember, commanded a division of the conquering army in its wonderful march through the enemy's country, and was still in commission. Senator Sumner detailed the points the President and he had discussed, and we parted with mutual congratulations that the Presidential office was in the hands of one who abhorred treason, was determined to punish traitors, and who, being familiar with the ignorance and degradation of the poor whites of the South, knew how grievously they had been misled and was therefore capable of pardoning them. We were gratified to be assured that he did not differ with us upon the necessity of availing ourselves, in the reorganization of the South, of the political power of the loyal people of that section without regard to lineage or past prejudices, as we had availed ourselves of their military power in the extreme exigency of the country.

JUDGE KELLEY'S INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT.

Accompanied by General Gantt, I waited upon President Johnson the next morning at his residence in the mansion of the Hon. Samuel Hooper, of Massachusetts. Our interview was satisfactory, but chiefly so in this:—That the point on which the President was most clear was, that there must be no haste in the work of reconstruction; that time was our ablest ally; that these people having overthrown their government must be permitted to feel the want of government, and to suffer from its want, that they might be brought to comprehend the true foundations of just government. It was in his judgment—for the question of the possibility of a called session of Congress was incidentally touched on—fortunate that Congress did not meet at an earlier day, for in the interim we would be able to ascertain the true spirit of the people of the South; they would discover and appreciate the just demands of those who had maintained the Government, and we would all be better able to judge how far the newly emancipated citizens could be trusted with political power.

The point specially pressed by General Gantt was the agency through which argument, persuasion, and information could be presented by the people of the rebellious district. The heresies which had produced the Rebellion could thus, in his judgment, soon be eradicated. These, he said, were two:—The doctrine of State sovereignty or the right of secession, and the doctrine of slavery—the right of man to hold property in man; and he suggested to the President that while military power was maintained it was clearly within the limits of constitutional power to suppress any paper which maintained these doctrines within the conquered States. Especially did he protest against permitting any editor who had taught these heresies and stimulated the people to rebellion to preside over a paper within any military district. The President assented very distinctly to the correctness of the General's views, saying that nothing could be more important than that the press throughout that region should be conducted in the interest of the Government, but in such a manner as not to wound the sensibilities of the people. He hoped, however, it would not be necessary to exercise such a power. Our interview was not disagreeable to the President, for, remarking that the time had come when he ought to be in the room which he occupied as an Executive chamber—a room in the Treasury—he suggested that we should precede him, and say to his messenger that he had directed us to come and await him. We did so, and in a few minutes he joined us. Our conversation soon closed, and as we departed from the Presidential presence, General Schurz was ushered in. There was great anxiety at that time to ascertain the President's views on the leading topics of consideration. The continued kindness of my constituents had given me some prominence before the country. I was then, as I am very proud to be to-day, known a Radical, and on returning to the hotel was surrounded by a number of the intelligent gentlemen who represent the newspaper press of the country at its Capital, and whose anxiety and laborious efforts to sift and compare statements and rumors, that they may truly inform the readers of the respective journals with which they communicate, is too lightly esteemed. They would gladly have learned from me all the points discussed and the precise shade of the President's opinion. But the time at my disposal was too brief for that. I could only say that the interview had been entirely satisfactory to me. One of the gentlemen said to me that it would give a good deal of information to many people if I would permit them to say very briefly what I had said to them, and, drawing his pencil, wrote:—"Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, had a protracted interview with the President to-day, and is entirely satisfied with his views and purposes," which was read the next day by the readers of all the papers with which the Associated Press communicates.

The next day I was giving an elaborate report of the conversation to some members of the Union League of this city, among whom, I remember, were Messrs. George H. Boker, Lindley Smyth, and Thomas Webster. Some of my hearers evidently doubted that there could be such entire coincidence between my well-known views and those of the President, as I represented. Happily, General Schurz arrived at the moment, and I withdrew from the conversation by saying, "General, be good enough to conform or contradict some statements I have just made by letting these gentlemen know the President's expressed opinions on certain points, for your interview with him was a few minutes later than mine." He did so, and confirmed my allegations at all points.

JUDGE KELLEY SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT.

I had other interviews with Mr. Johnson, and had no reason to doubt his frankness or his candor. You may, therefore, readily imagine the amazement with which I read of the appointment of a provisional Governor for North Carolina and the terms of the proclamation accompanying the appointment. I passed the first week of June in Boston, in attendance upon the anniversary meetings, two or three of which I was to address. The North Carolina movement occasioned the friends of the Government in that quarter much anxiety, and I found pleasure in laying before them the evidence at my command that the President had not acted unadvisedly; that he was in harmony with them; that he did mean to make treason odious and punish traitors; that this movement was only experimental; that he was not going to arrogate to himself the functions of the legislative branch of the Government; that he did mean that the reconstructed States must be put upon the broad basis of the rights of man, protected by due Constitutional guarantees; and in persuading them to believe with me that the President was anxious for the extension of the right of suffrage to all, the diffusion of schools, the maintenance of a free press, and the establishment of truly democratic republican governments throughout the South. In such violation of all the opinions he had expressed to me was this action that I was persuaded he acted on assurances, that by leaving all questions to the people of North Carolina, as he was doing, they would of their own volition (at least apparently so) frame a government which would be acceptable to Congress and the sentiment of the country, and be an example to all the rest of the States whose governments had been overthrown.

ANOTHER INTERVIEW.

Immediately after my return home I repaired to Washington to receive these assurances from his own lips. I mentioned my Boston experiences to him, and the pleasure it had given me to explain his motives and prevent unjust criticism. He did me the honor, for which I specially thank him now, to inquire the grounds upon which I rested my arguments. I referred him to his continued advocacy of the Homestead bill—to the energy with which he had pressed upon me the necessity of breaking up the large landed estates of Tennessee and the entire South. I recurred to his pledge to the colored people of the country in his Nashville speech that he would be their Moses to lead them to liberty, and specially pressed the fact that I had seen it announced that he had suggested to a deputation of colored citizens of the District that had waited upon him, that they should be prepared, when Congress assembled, to memorialize it for the right of suffrage in the District. He did not then suggest, nor, indeed, has he ever to me, as his friend, Colonel Florence, assured the readers of the *Constitutional Union*, he has to others, that no such deputation ever waited on him or received such suggestion from him. But, thanking me for this evidence of my friendship, inquired who the common friend was to whom I had alluded as coinciding with me in judgment. When I informed him that it was Major George L. Stearns, who had been with him in Nashville for a long time recruiting colored troops, he said with much animation:—"Oh, yes, Major Stearns. I am not surprised to learn that he should understand me thoroughly as you do." Again assuring me of the earnestness with which he would advocate the extension of suffrage to colored citizens, were he in Tennessee, he said the people would soon learn that the same man in different positions might have different duties to perform, and that while he would give all his personal influence to promote the extension of suffrage, he did not feel that he had a right, as chief Executive officer of the country, to force it upon even the people of the rebellious States, and added that he wished the people to be made to understand these things.

THE PRESIDENT FALSIFIES HIS STATEMENTS.

Accepting the "request of the monarch as a command to the subject," I made it my business, immediately on my return home, to state the President's position to the conductors of all our journals with whom I had any acquaintance, and, a few weeks later, was much pained to learn from at least one of them, that I had somewhat impaired my reputation as a competent reporter of a conversation, by the fact that the position I had announced the President as occupying had been expressly disavowed. You may, therefore, imagine the pleasure with which I some months later carried to that gentleman the printed letter of Major Stearns, endorsed by the President, containing a correct statement of a conversation had between them, in the course of which he had used precisely the language I had, months before, reported him as having used to me. It may not be improper to remark in passing, that it is well for the Major's sensibilities that he got the President to endorse his statement before he published it, as I heard him remark the other day, to a group of gentlemen, that Mr. Johnson had falsified, without exception, every assurance he had given him in the course of their protracted interview.

HE EXPECTS THE RADICALS TO SLOUGH OFF.

But why should you be amazed at this? Has he redeemed any one of his public pledges, and are there not scores of gentleman whom he has thus entrapped or alienated? On the 28th of September last, Senator Wilson addressed the Union men of Philadelphia in National Hall, and told them that on the preceding day the President had assured him that the suffrage and other questions were, in his opinion, open for discussion within the party, and that he would not discriminate between its members on account of the opinions they might express on points not settled by the Baltimore Convention. On the 3d of October, within a week, as we are assured by these gentlemen, he informed Messrs. Glenn W. Schofield and Morrow B. Lowry, of this State that *his policy* was fixed, that he had not told Mr. Wilson that he did not mean to support his policy by the influence of his patronage and that he "expected the radicals to slough off." But why trace so tortuous and shameless a course? Could I do so with safety to my country, I would gladly strive to bury in oblivion the unblushing tergiversations of our Chief Magistrate. But the people should understand their President's character and purposes, for it is against themselves that he is endeavoring to excite them. He would make them believe that Congress—the people's branch of the Government—which is surrendered into their hands at the end of every second year, has for sinister purposes submitted itself to the control and leadership of a few dangerous men, and that he alone represents the popular will. To the public this is a new cry. To individuals it is an older story. He would make the people believe that there has been that in the action of Congress which was intended to embarrass him. But individuals know how [illegible]ously and persistently he has sought to impair popular confidence in those Senators and Representatives upon whom Abraham Lincoln leaned with [illegible] implicit confidence; and that so early as Ju[illegible] when he had been but three months in office he shocked an eminent divine whose good offices [illegible] had invoked, by saying that "he held the extreme men of the North as responsible for the war as [illegible] and those of the South, and intended to organize a party that would exclude both." Though he had [illegible] early adopted this design, it was not till last [illegible] that he publicly avowed the purpose of punishing Northern radicals and putting them down as we had put down the armed traitors of the South. Mississippi was the State of the Union that had the smallest percentage of colored men who could read or write, or owned real estate, and it was to the pardoned traitor, whom he calls Governor of Mississippi, that, on the 15th of August, he privately telegraphed the way to play a little trick to embarrass the radicals and divide the Union party. I make the following extract from his official despatch to Hon. W. L. Sharkey of that date:—

"If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than $250, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary, and set an example the other States will follow. This you can do with perfect safety, and you thus place the Southern States, in reference to free persons of color, upon the same basis with the free States. I hope and trust your convention will do this, and, as a consequence the radicals, who are wild upon negro franchise will be completely foiled in their attempts to keep the Southern States from renewing their [illegible]